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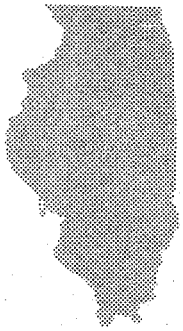
Arthur Schlesinger Jr. on Churchill

New Republic

THE FIGHT FOR CONGRESS



Illinois: Paul Douglas versus Ten Hopeful Republicans

California: Will Warren's Loss Be the Democrats' Gain?

SHOULD THE WEST DROP ISRAEL?

Ray Alan Analyzes the New Dulles Policy

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FEB 25 195

T. R. B. *Washington Wire*

This column well remembers the testimony of Harvard economist Alvin Hansen, wearing his famous green-eye shade, before the old Temporary National Economic Committee, May 16, 1939, when he uttered the heresy that the then federal debt would never have to be paid back, dollar by dollar, in increased taxation. Britain, he said, had never wiped out the debt from the Napoleonic War; it just let national output and population catch up with the debt, which was funded. In America in '39 the New Deal debt was an obsession. It was a conservative article of faith that every cent of it had to be extinguished sooner or later in taxes which would ruin the nation.

In the yellowing friable pages of the *Congressional Record* of May 27, 1943, when the TNEC report had been produced, Senators Taft, Tydings, Byrd and others raged and stormed at the "radical" Hansen thesis. That day in the Senate the theory of a public debt, expanding contemporaneously and benignly with growth of national income and output, was jumped upon tumultously with both feet.

Last week Dr. Hansen was testifying quietly again in Washington, this time before the Joint Economic Committee. A dozen years had rolled by. Not the slightest protest or objection was raised to the former "heresy." A dozen years had made it the commonplace of economics — known even to many Senators. The federal debt, within limits, is not a nightmare but the beneficial instrument in which we—and life insurance companies and banks—invest our savings.

But Dr. Hansen stressed another thesis. This one still startles Senators; yet, we imagine, it will be commonplace a dozen years hence. It runs smack into the primary thinking and prejudices of the Eisenhower Administration and of the business world generally. In brief, it is that when a recession starts, recovery will not come automatically; that the remedies of business aren't enough. "The economy cannot be relied upon to generate adequate automatic demand" is the way the Keynesians put it. Says Hansen: business can't do the trick without government—that is, if you want full production and full employment.

Ike's press conference last week ended the hortatory phase of official anti-recession activity. Down to then the Administration had put its confidence in exhortation. But Ike pulled the rug out from a lot of Republicans when he agreed, simply, that the situation is becoming more serious. He set March as the trigger month for big action if necessary. But Ike still hopes prosperity will come back with the robins. Maybe it will. The Hansen thesis, which has plenty of respectable backing, is that the economy need not have slumped at all if the government had done its part, switched the billions it stopped spending for defense to peaceful expenditures for slum clearance, highways, schools and the like. This is the modern heresy. It requires federal planning and federal action when Ike wants less of this, not more. Conservatives and businessmen find its postulate outrageous. It is the conception that it is just as valid—economically and morally—for a government to sustain national prosperity by judicial building of schools, highways, hospitals and homes as it is to build planes, submarines and the mega-death A-bomb.

Fears of a recession are getting all mixed up in politics. The Dewey crowd, including Brownell, Chairman Hall and others are scared that defeat this Fall will make their Republican faction target for the militant GOP Old Guard in which McCarthy is now an accepted and powerful force. If the Democrats capture Congress the Dewey crowd needs an alibi; they don't want to have it said that they rejected the "treason" attack.

Frightened by Democratic by-election victories in Wisconsin, New York and New Jersey, Brownell opened Operation Demagogue in his Chicago speech attacking Truman and violating the secrecy of FBI files; Governor Dewey made his bizarre charges of "treason" at Hartford, and the attack has rolled on since then in what seems like a co-ordinated and carefully planned maneuver. With cruel irony the memory of Lincoln became the vehicle for the McCarthy tour, sponsored by GOP Chairman Hall. President Eisenhower is left in the rear, arguing that his party should stand on its legislative program but flirting with the same mistress in the charge of 2,200 "security risks." We think the Republicans are scared, and we think their tactics will turn out ultimately to have been bad politics.

We regard Doris Fleeson as one of the best political correspondents in America. It is heartening to learn that anyone reporting Washington with her honesty can reach the big public she does, particularly now as she is selected by United Features for syndication to replace another liberal columnist Marquis Childs.

It's fun these days to watch America discovering that it has a fabulous new crop of Morgans, Rockefellers and Carnegies—the oil primitives of Texas. Nearly every day some newspaper starts another series about them. McCarthy-loving H. L. Hunt and his "Facts Forum" put them on the map. Hunt is supposed to be the richest man in America, and isn't even in "Who's Who." These oil barons are the offspring of the tax loophole, the so-called depreciation allowance that lets them pile up their tens of millions of profits with favorable Treasury treatment. For 25 years every Secretary of the Treasury—until the present Administration—has asked that this loophole be plugged. But the oil power in Congress is enormous: it contributes heavily to campaign chests, it helps swing Texas to the Republicans, it gets its reward in quick passage of the offshore oil bill, backed by Eisenhower. Does the present Administration oppose the oil depletion allowance? It doesn't know; it is making an investigation; tell you after the election.

And finally we say goodbye with regret to the fantastic Dr. Clarence Manion, who wanted to sell TVA, and was fired by Ike from his chairmanship of the Inter-Governmental Relations Commission because he spent all his time making pro-Bricker Amendment speeches. Manion was fun while he lasted, and we shall miss him in this post Cro-Manion era.

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Noteworthy This Week

BEHIND THE HEADLINES

Atomic Energy Plans

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S message proposing amendments to the Atomic Energy Act follows the pattern of proposals established by the Atomic Energy Commission under Harry Truman. It will be attacked as an extension of the Republican Giveaway Program. Both in terms of origin and of need, these criticisms seem to us to be largely unsound for reasons given when the proposals were prepared last May.

The President calls first, for authority to exchange with our allies "such tactical information as is essential to the development of defense plans. . . ." The recommendation is urgently required by the President's decision to base our military strategy on atomic weapons. While the proposal will raise the ghost of Klaus Fuchs in the Senate, the only sound criticism is that the President is not seeking enough. A limited exchange of information seems almost absurd when our closest ally, Great Britain, is producing bombs, and is well ahead of us in atomic power development.

The amendments proposed by the President on safety and security regulations are sound and long overdue. The main struggle will come on the proposals to open the field of atomic power to private exploitation. Here the issue is confused by the resentment created by the President's attitude toward public power. The confusion will be further heightened by the President's suggestion that private development of atomic power will permit the government "to reduce its own reactor research and development." This bow to traditional Republican doctrine is wholly out of place in an industry in which no single-purpose atomic power plant has yet been designed that can operate economically and progress turns very largely on government research.

The President proposes that patent provisions be "liberalized." Although there is no justification for exclusive use of patents in an industry created by public expenditures and vital to security, the President suggests merely that this elementary protection for the public indicates "some mechanism" for no more than five years. On this issue Senate liberals can be expected to make a major legislative issue of "liberalization."

Clear Statement

THE BOARD of directors of the American Unitarian Association has served notice that the church will not support ministers who invoke the Fifth Amendment to avoid making clear their political beliefs. It passed unanimously a resolution affirming its opposition to all forms of tyranny and declaring its belief that ministers of the denomination must speak out in "honesty and candor" in behalf of opposition to tyranny regardless of consequences.

"Neither silence nor evasion on the part of a Unitarian minister can be justified by fear of being misunderstood or by fear of being labeled Left or Right," the statement said. "The Unitarian minister will discharge his obligation of maintaining honesty and candor only if on every occasion he is willing to stand up and be counted.

"When these conditions are met, we will defend to the limit his right to present any point of view."

He said "recession"

Timber . . . !

EFFORTS to open up the 151 US National Forests (once worn-down lands no one wanted, last year they yielded $76 million in receipts while increasing in value by more than $70 million) to exploitation by private interests continue. Such efforts predate the present Administration by many years, but they have been blessed of late with the co-operation of Interior Secretary Douglas McKay.

There is, for example, the bill (HR 4646) introduced by Republican Rep. Harris Ellsworth of Oregon, long the spokesman for the large timber interests. It provides that when timberlands operated on a "sustained yield" basis—*i.e.*, only those owned by very large companies operating their own manufacturing plants—are acquired by the US for a project, such as a flood-control, power and irrigation reservoir, the company need not accept payment for the fair value of such lands but can choose "similar and suitable federally owned lands" instead. And the land-management agency which must surrender the lands is given no power to veto the choice made by the company and the agency building the project, usually the Corps of Engineers or the revamped Bureau of Reclamation.

Even more important than the invitations to abuse presented by this bill—choice of sections giving actual control over much larger areas, etc.—or its special privilege features—benefiting only big lumber operators—is the precedent it would set. Once the national forests have been opened to one group for one reason, it would become immeasurably easier to open them to others for other reasons. And why should not the principle of compensation-in-kind, if accepted in this case, be extended to other "sustained yield" businesses — range lands, hotels, resorts, hunting lodges, service stations—displaced by a federal project, be it a reservoir, a postoffice or an Army base.

All these objections and others were contained in an unfavorable report on

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the bill prepared by the US Forest Service and presented by the Department of Agriculture on July 10, 1953. But that report was withdrawn by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Benson, after the US Chamber of Commerce and the National Association of Lumber Manufacturers began pushing hard for the bill. Now McKay's Department of Interior has issued a favorable report.

McKay has also intervened in another action involving timberland and Mr. Ellsworth's state of Oregon.

An organization owned mainly in Alabama, the Al Serena Mines, asked for permission to patent 23 ore claims on government land in Oregon. Once a patent is granted, the company also may cut the timber growing on its claim. The company gets the profits.

The US Forest Service approved eight of the claims but declared that 15 showed insufficient evidence of ore to be classified as legitimate mining deposits. The regional headquarters of the Forest Service in the Northwest supported this finding. So did the regional office of the Bureau of Land Management. Furthermore the Washington, D. C., staff of the Bureau of Land Management sustained the verdict of all the echelons in the field.

But Secretary of the Interior McKay has overruled both the Forest Service and his own Bureau of Land Management and granted the Al Serena Mines all 23 claims with full patents. The mining corporation has thus come into outright possession of approximately $200,000 worth of fir timber, growing on what once was federal acreage. The company paid to the government a total of about $2,200 for the 450 acres of land involved.

Think

THE MAYOR of Dearborn, Michigan, has decreed that city officials shall come to work in the morning, immediately lock their office doors, unhook the telephone, and "think." As a starter, His Honor has required employees to learn as soon as possible the inspirational essay "A Message to Garcia"; which message is classified, the essay never revealing its contents, though it is stated that it was addressed to "the leader of the insurgents" in Cuba.

Dearborn officials have also been asked to familiarize themselves with the boyhood of another insurgent leader, Robert E. Lee.

Thereafter, the Mayor expects his public servants will dream up their own projects: "If they think enough, they may have ideas. That is the way Newton discovered the law of gravity."

It is also the way the International Business Machine Company discovered for decorating its walls. But in this case, by limiting its educational program to signs (THINK), IBM leaves a loophole for the lazy. One is not compelled to unhook telephones, lock doors, be alone.

Does Dearborn reflect a new trend?

If so, how long will it be before some Congressman senses its significance and initiates the appropriate investigation?

The mind seems to be made up of fissionable matter, not unacquainted with chain reactions; and once the trigger has been pulled, it may not be able to confine itself to ruminations about Robert E. Lee, or the latest IBM mechanical substitute for the human calculator.

The Good Ole Days

LIKE MOST of the periodical press, *Life* magazine is given to striking hard at the "terrible 20" years of the New Deal.

But in a form letter dispatched to lure new subscribers, *Life* heralds "sweet 16" of those years in an encomium which might be subtitled "The Life of Our Best Years."

"You and I and all of us have certainly changed a lot in the last 16 years," it reads. "Today, we Americans pay more to hear classical concerts than we do to see baseball games. . . . For the first time in history, more of us own than rent our homes—many of them in what used to be in the country. And with more time to call our own than ever before, we've turned ourselves into a nation of topflight gardeners, decorators, cooks, handymen. . . ."

"In only 16 years we've changed all the ways of our living! We've built a New America—created a whole new race of Americans!"

Life is different in the Circulation Department.

Solid

SENATE confirmation of Albert C. Beeson as a member of the National Labor Relations Board should end any organized-labor hopes that the Republican Party had become sensitive to its views.

With a number of important NLRB decisions awaiting the new member's tie-breaking vote, all labor organizations came together in rare unity to oppose Beeson—the first appointment to the quasi-judicial board ever made directly from the ranks of labor or management.

Of the 43 Republicans voting, 42 voted for Beeson; three Southern Democrats—Harry Byrd (Va.), Spessard Hol-

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land (Fla.) and James Eastland (Miss.) joined them.

Forty of the 43 Democrats voting were against Beeson; they were joined by one Republican—William Langer—and one Independent—Wayne Morse.

Lost and Found

WASHINGTON reporters are pressing Attorney-General Herbert Brownell Jr. for an explanation of statements which may prove as embarrassing to the Administration as the "2,200 security-risks" announcement. Brownell claimed that he found in the Justice Department "22,000 lost documents," including the 1945 FBI report on internal espionage which named Harry Dexter White and many others. The impression left with the nation was that the information in those documents had been ignored under the Democratic Administration.

Reporters questioning Brownell, however, already have discovered that the "missing" documents were not missing at all, but kept in a separate file because of their importance, that the "missing FBI report" had been made available to the House Un-American Activities Committee in 1949 and was publicly referred to by Vice-President Nixon, then a Congressman, on the floor of the House in January, 1950, that the information in those documents caused a special prosecution section on subversive cases to be set up in New York during 1947-48, and that this information was presented to a New York Grand Jury by a federal prosecutor in late 1948.

Against A Second Round

AT LEAST one Senator is aroused and vocal about the situation in the Middle East described by veteran journalist Ray Alan on page 8 of this issue.

"A few years ago," said Sen. Guy M. Gillette (D, Iowa) recently, "our government took a deep interest in encouraging agrarian reform . . . recognizing the need to fight Communism with preventive medicine. . . .

"We no longer hear mention of this approach, but instead we hear only of shipments of arms and munitions and the negotiation of military agreements.

"I am prepared to consider every reasonable proposal for the defense buildup of the Near and Middle East that carries promise of even partial success. We must find a way to forestall a Soviet flanking operation against the Atlantic Community. But what is the purpose of proposals that instead of unifying the peoples of the area for their common protection gives some of them the means to resume open warfare against others? How does this prevent a Soviet attack on the Middle East or shore up the defenses of that strategic world crossroads? . . .

"The present doubt as to our intentions must be swept aside. We need an official, public declaration by our government that it is our unaltered and unalterable purpose to bring about a permanent peace settlement in place of the present (Arab-Israeli) armistice. . . .

"The effect of such a declaration would remove any doubt as to America's attitude in the face of any resumption of the Palestine war. So long as this doubt lingers, fed from time to time by ill-considered moves in Washington, the enemies of peace will pursue their agitation for a 'second round'."

In Lincoln's Name

ANGER and name-calling are not new in politics, but it is now clear that in key contests in the 1954 campaign, such as those in Illinois and California with which *New Republic* this week opens its campaign coverage, there will be things said by men about other men which even cynical political in-fighting will not justify.

"There is," wrote Walter Lippmann recently, "a blacklist on name-calling. The test is not whether the names make a man angry; or whether it is coarse, mean, insulting; not even whether it is untrue. The test is whether the name is one which—if it is untrue and is not retracted—a man of honor cannot forgive. As long as the libel stands, there can be between him and the man who made it only an implacable enmity.

"Is it necessary to spell out why the charge of treason—made deliberately and with knowing untruth by one party against another—is an intolerable political offense? For those who have forgotten why, or perhaps have never known, let it be said that to incite half of the people against the other half, putting between them the mortal issue of treason, is to enter upon the commission of a political crime which can bring terrible consequences.

"It is a gruesome irony that this organized incitement to a fratricidal division of our people was begun at meetings in honor of Abraham Lincoln. It makes one shudder at the desecration of his memory—at having to hear cruel and calculating voices summoning the nation to civil disunion in the name of the martyr of the American Civil War.

"The seriousness of the offense lies in the fact that, despite the President's disavowal of the charge of treason, the campaign is sponsored by the chairman of the Republican Committee. . . . With the President himself reluctant and protesting, it would appear . . . that there has been a radical decision by the politicians of the Eisenhower ring of the Republican Party.

"Beginning with Mr. Brownell's Chicago speech and his use of the FBI files for partisan purposes, going on to Governor Dewey's unprecedented — unprecedented for him — political violence and venom at Hartford and then down to Chairman Hall's encouragement of the firebrands—there is a remarkably clear pattern.

"The Brownell speech . . . was made almost immediately after the ominous Republican political reverses in Wisconsin, New Jersey and New York. Since then the underlying economic trends have not been favorable to Republican political prospects. It is only too evident that the politicians around the President are very much frightened. The Brownell-Dewey-Hall line since the lost elections of last fall can be explained only by supposing they are afraid not only of losing the House of Representatives to the Democrats but also of losing their party position and perhaps their political heads to the extreme anti-Eisenhower and anti-Dewey wing.

"Their new line is explicable only in terms of something like panic, fear, or a profound feeling of political insecurity. Their line is designed as protection against the exploitation by McCarthy of a political setback in November. If the election goes better than they now fear, they will still be in the saddle though considerably bedraggled in appearance. If the election goes badly, they hope—though almost certainly in vain—to make McCarthy share the blame and not be able to raise hell at their expense."

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Paris Dispatch: THE BEAR WANTS IN

Molotov's proposal in Berlin of a Pan-European security system, with Russia playing much the same role which the US plays in the Pan-American system and involving a variant of the Monroe Doctrine, is said to have come as a surprise to Secretary Dulles.

Yet, knowing that Russian failure to come up with an alternative to Western plans for Germany would probably help the chances of French ratification of the EDC, also knowing that Moscow was hell bent on defeating the EDC, he should have foreseen a possible shift in emphasis for all-Germany to all-Europe. And since Dulles knew—and said—that the Russians were trying to fish the French out of the Atlantic pool, his failure to guess in advance the nature of the bait was strange.

At any rate, if Mr. Dulles was surprised, readers of the *NR* are not. In "Marianne and The Bear" (*NR*—December 28, 1953), it was stated that:

> Russia comes forward as a European state, differing pointedly from the US. As a European state and with its satellites, also European states, Russia offers special partnership to France—which considers herself *the* European state par excellence—in the making of a Europe larger than any of those foreseen thus far in Atlantic patterns, the six of the EDC or the larger number of the Council or union or federation.

The Soviet proposal of a security pact of "Europe for the Europeans"—*all* but *only* the European nations—amounts to retaliation in advance. It is a maneuver of political and psychological warfare intended to exploit anxieties created or revived, especially in France, by the realities and ambiguities of the US New Look.

Since Western Europeans don't really know whether the Americans intend to stay or leave, the theoretical possibility of making do without them has to be considered with some seriousness; and although the prospect of a "Great Europe" now presented by the Russians may be entirely unrealizable, indeed little more than a new propaganda line, it can help defeat the goal of a "Little Europe" defended (and, in the absence of the US, dominated) by a *Grossdeutschland*.

Conflicting reports from the US about whether or not the Americans would remove themselves—or at least their troops *and* their dollars—from Western Europe have tended to make the Russian bait more tempting.

At the Berlin Conference, the Russians are offering the French what amounts to a version of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact of August, 1939. For the neutralization of both Germanies would, if accepted, give the French the kind of domination of Europe they might have had—or rather, the French collaborators might have had—if Germany had won World War II.

In theory, Charles de Gaulle might be Moscow's chosen instrument in the "Great Europe," as Adenauer is Washington's in "Little Europe." But de Gaulle hasn't gained either in popularity and prestige while the German heir to Charlemagne's empire and Bismarck's power has forged ahead. Besides, de Gaulle personally is both too honest and too patriotic, too demanding and too difficult.

The Gaullists *en masse*, however, can serve the Russian purpose, especially the ex-Petainists among them; and they can be flanked by many others on the Right. The aim of the Russian partnership offered France goes beyond defeating the EDC: it is to find in French leadership of Europe the means of nullifying the Radford Line from Spain through Italy and Greece and Turkey.

ON FEBRUARY 10, 1954, Soviet Foreign Minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov proposed a 50-year all-European security treaty which would negate both NATO and EDC.

The Treaty would stipulate that: (1) signatories would "refrain from any attack against one another"; (2) membership would be open to "all European states" including East and West Germany "as parties enjoying equal rights"; (3) members could "not enter . . . any . . . alliance which would contradict collective security in Europe"; (4) the US would have only the role of "observer" on a par with Red China.

The proposal was rejected.

The Russians are willing to give the French real power—provided that the power works for them. And the German danger now seems too great to so many Frenchmen that they don't need to be Communists (or psychotics, as the *New York Times* suggests) to be tempted.

All they need to be is patriots of the kind who worked with and for Petain, Laval and the others of the collaboration. The Russians have passed along the hint in France that the phrase "without distinction of social system" used in the first article of Molotov's proposed treaty isn't intended to refer to Spain under Franco or Yugoslavia under Tito, but to a France under the "right kind" of Gaullist or other "strong" regime that would be "right" on Russian matters.

Such a French regime, it is suggested, joining with Russia in a Pan-European security system could, if it chose, be vigorously anti-Communist at home; as harsh, for example, as Hitler's Germany remained to the home Communists after the Russo-German "reinsurance" pact of August, 1939.

The alternative to inevitable French subservience to *Grossdeutschland* under the EDC, say the Russians, would not be absorption by Russia; on the contrary, that wouldn't be to Russian interests—any more, presumably, than total absorption of Vichy France was to Hitler's interests. The idea seems to be that the Russians are offering those Frenchmen willing to listen an arrangement rather similar to the Hitler-Mussolini "Pact of Steel," with France in the role of Italy in the late thirties.

Absurd or not, criminal, treasonable, insane or not, the offer behind the Molotov proposal in Berlin opens a new phase—a phase which would not have been conceivable if not for the oddities and imprecisions of the US New Look.

And as for the chances of French ratification of the EDC, the split in the ranks of the Popular Republicans (and hence in the Laniel "majority") between Georges Bidault and Robert Schuman, present and past Foreign Ministers, suggests that the "united front" of the Western Big Three at Berlin, of which Dulles was so proud, may not have been a great victory for our side after all.

Paris FRANK GORRELL

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A JOURNAL OF OPINION New Republic

Editorial: The Prospects at Geneva

AT GENEVA, on April 26, the political conference on Asia that was promised in the Korean Armistice will be held at last. It will be less than the Communists have demanded; more than the United States has been ready to concede. While the prospects for agreement are minimal, both sides stress the will to agree.

This gain, that Geneva represents, was registered in principle three years ago when both sides acknowledged that they wished to talk rather than to fight. Once we agreed to meet the representatives of Peking, the existence of Communist China was silently conceded. And once negotiation rather than warfare was accepted as the proper means of resolving our Korean conflict with Peking, the extension of talks was permissible to Indo-China, and all areas under dispute.

But *permissible* has not meant *possible*. A continuing conflict over the status of Communist China at the political conference, and the issues to be discussed, has lain behind all the maneuvers in Asia for the past 12 months.

The Chinese Communists have struggled for a conference at which they would emerge as one of the five great powers of the world, equal with Russia as well as with the United States, and just as entitled to shape the development of the West as the West is to speak on Asian affairs.

In contrast, the Western nations, at our insistence, have refused to treat negotiations as recognition of the Chinese Communists or to extend negotiations beyond the disputes in which China is directly and decisively involved. Even on these issues we have insisted that a settlement on Korea must precede a discussion of other conflicts in Asia. And we have further argued that Peking must attend the political conference as a junior partner to Moscow by defining Moscow's role in the conference as instigator and belligerent in the Korean War.

On these terms the political conference lost its attraction to the Peking Government. Its attitude hardened until discussion itself became impossible at Panmunjom.

Now the structure and purpose of the political conference is newly defined. Moscow will attend in the same capacity as Britain, France and the United States; Peking will join them as an invited power; North and South Korea will come as equals (if President Rhee will come); the table will be round after all.

Both sides have made concessions for the sake of the Geneva conference. What chance is there for its success?

On Korea, the conference objective set by Mr. Dulles is "unification in freedom." That plainly is unattainable. The Communists have shown that they will not relinquish their hold on North Korea, we have no intention of surrendering South Korea, and between North and South, no middle ground exists today. More modestly, Molotov holds that the conference will make a "contribution" toward a final settlement. That much may be possible, in the form of limited agreements on the withdrawal of troops, and the development of trade.

It may be possible in Korea because, both sides acknowledge that in Korea their objectives cannot profitably be gained by war. But in Indo-China, which follows Korea on the agenda of the Geneva Conference, there is no such agreement today.

At Geneva, no doubt, the French will ask Communist China to cease shipping arms across its borders to the Viet-Minh forces. To grant this request would greatly damage Peking's valued ally. What then are the French, and the West ready to yield in return? And even if they gain agreement by yielding something of value, how is the agreement to be enforced on a frontier along which all French positions have by now been lost.

France knows at least what she wants from China; what will she ask of Ho Chi Minh, and offer in return? The geography, and the military lines in Indo-China prohibit an armistice based on the military division of the country. A plebiscite—our traditional panacea—would probably aid the Communists if they were willing to accept the precedent and would most certainly lead to the extinction of French power. In Indo-China, unlike Korea, the majority is probably opposed to both sides. Yet in a coalition government, the French sponsored party, left to itself, would not last a week.

The West has no position on Indo-China; no realistic requests to present; no concessions short of surrender to accept. All talk of compromise is demoralizing to the Viet-Namese Government, and lack of morale, rather than equipment, is its greatest weakness today. This weakness, and France's weariness will raise substantial dangers at Geneva to which we have as yet no answer. Nor can an answer flow from our present position, unwilling as we are to treat the Communist regimes of Asia as stable, or to undertake the vastly increased military effort needed for their overthrow. In turn the contradictions in our positions arise from the duality of the Communist nations in seeking both co-existence and revolution. It is the nature of the conflict that sweeping solutions are impossible; the best we can hope for is progression by many painful steps. The dangers at Geneva are obvious; the chances small but, simply by breathing life into the procedures of co-operation, the Geneva conference, like the Berlin conference, can accomplish good.

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THE FIGHT FOR CONGRESS

I. *Illinois: Douglas Versus Ten Hopefuls*

by Richard Lewis

WITH THE FOLLOWING articles appraising the early election prospects in two key states, the *New Republic* begins its coverage of the 1954 campaign.

Week by week, from now until November, we will report the developing contests for the Senate and the House, and in gubernatorial and local elections, wherever the issues and the candidates make them of national importance.

TEN CANDIDATES are running for the Republican nomination for US Senator in Illinois, an all-time high. The previous state record of nine Senatorial candidates was set by the Democrats in 1932.

Republicans profess to see some significance in the two highs which suggest, perhaps, a political application of the law of supply and demand. A generous supply of candidates might be construed in this context as a response to the political mood of the electorate.

At any rate, the Republicans are confident this year. In the downstate political vernacular, they can smell the "meat's a-cookin'."

Irrespective of whatever natural laws may be involved, the man who appears to be responsible for the record turn-out is Gov. William G. Stratton. He declared an unbossed primary last fall and has stuck to his word. He wanted to dramatize the idea that it is open season on Sen. Paul Douglas, last of the major Democratic office-holders in Illinois.

Douglas is running for re-election without primary election competition, and is in a position to view the scrambling of the Eager Ten with detachment, although all of them are attacking him. Now and then he wards off an occasional charge with measured rebuttal, but in the main the Senator appears to regard the gathering assault with calm.

In declaring the open primary, the Governor has not only produced a locker room full of candidates, but has deftly sidestepped Eisenhower-Taft factionalism, still as bitter as ever. Whether the Taft-wing is still dominant in Illinois, as it was in 1952, will be decided by the GOP voters in their selection of the Senatorial nominee. At least, that is the present plan and the Republican National Committee is going along with it by keeping its hands off. In this respect, the upcoming Republican primary promises to be a plebiscite on who wants what in the party, and which way they want it to go.

The effect of the Governor's free-for-all has been theatrical. The curtain has gone up on the Republican Senatorial campaign with the whole cast on stage, shouting and waving its arms, like an old time minstrel show. Indeed, Stratton hopes to take the show on the road and present all 10 candidates at rallies. Not many of them seem to be impressed by the idea. Most would rather go it alone, and most probably will.

Whatever it may augur, the multitude of candidates tends to confuse the voters. It is not easy to tell the players apart without a program. Most are politically obscure. Only two have held public office. And all of them are from Cook County. The political attitudes represented by the Illinois Ten cover the Republican gamut from President Eisenhower to America First. In addition to the Eisenhower supporters, Taftites, MacArthur champions, and McCarthy men are represented. The choice is as wide as it could be.

The big five in the group are Austin L. Wyman, attorney and former head of the Chicago Crime Commission, an Eisenhower man; Joseph T. Meek, a lobbyist and Taft man; Edward A. Hayes, former national commander of the American Legion, an isolationist; Deneen Watson, Chicago lawyer, a proponent of elimination of farm subsidies, and Park Livingston, former president of the University of Illinois Board of Trustees.

Organized Eisenhower Republicans have gravitated to Wyman. He has a record of advocating civic reform in Chicago and has been prominent in organizations fighting organized crime and racketeering and inefficiency in the police department. Wyman is new to politics, but he has become the "boy" of a powerful and well-financed Eisenhower organization.

The most articulate, anti-Eisenhower candidate appears to be Joe Meek. As a long-time drummer for retailer's legislative causes, Meek has hit every crossroad of any consequence in Illinois. He is widely acquainted throughout the state, probably more so than any other candidate. If anyone might be expected to know which way the Republican wind is blowing in Illinois, it would be Meek.

He launched his primary campaign by thumping for a "pro-American foreign policy to end lavish foreign aid and the waste of US military strength by scattering garrisons in exposed posts over the world." The im-

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plication that Eisenhower's foreign policy is, somehow, not pro-American was as plain as Meek could make it.

He has made it clear, generally, that he is bidding for isolationist support as well as for the help of Senator McCarthy's fans, for whom he has praised "McCarthyism" as a positive force. Like the others, Meek fires away at Senator Douglas, but his immediate adversary is the Eisenhower wing of the GOP.

While Meek's political speeches tend to sound much like a service club after-luncheon talk, Meek demonstrated his technique of political action a decade ago. He persuaded Peoria businessmen to protect their "fixed expenditures" by kicking in to Everett Dirksen's Congressional campaign. It was a kind of "insurance," Meek told them.

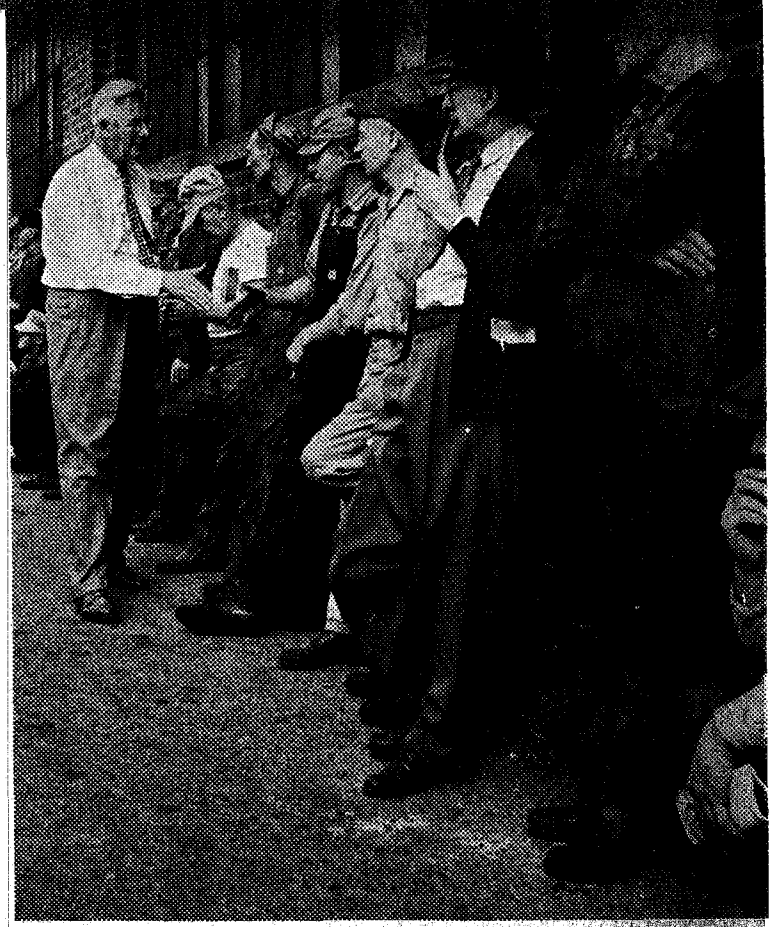
As head of the American Legion in 1933, Hayes stumped the nation against US adherence to the World Court, reading Washington's Farewell Address. He was backed for Senator briefly in 1937 by isolationists impressed with his "unblemished record" of opposition to foreign entanglements and the League of Nations. In 1949, his name popped up in connection with a hotel deal during the Senate investigation of influence peddling and five percenters.

Watson is secretary of the Illinois Bar Association. Although he is pro-Eisenhower, he criticizes the Eisenhower budget in a bid for business support. He told a gathering at the Union League Club, when he announced his candidacy, that he was not convinced that "our government is earning its salt." He opposes all forms of government subsidy, he says.

Livingston was defeated by Stratton for the gubernatorial nomination in 1952. A milk company vice-president and general counsel, he is the only Horatio Alger type in the group. He was born in a sod house in South Dakota, was orphaned while in grammar school, worked his way through high school as a janitor at 10 cents a room and through the University of Illinois washing dishes, checking coats at dances and selling peanuts.

Chairman of the University of Illinois trustees, Livingston engineered the explosive ouster of George D. Stoddard as university president last summer. Stoddard charged that the move was political, and there is little doubt that Republican politicians disliked Stoddard. He was regarded as a liberal, which was bad enough, and he wouldn't play ball politically, which was worse. Livingston, in a bill of particulars, charged that Stoddard had absented himself to serve on UNESCO. This was one of the stated grounds on which he was fired.

Of the six comparatively minor candidates, the most persistent is Lar (America First) Daly, who tried to run MacArthur for President in the 1952 Illinois primary. Daly's political ambitions go in all directions. He has sought to run for Congress as a Democrat, for the Senate as a Republican and a Democrat and for President as head of his America First party. Each time, he was tripped up by faulty petitions. In 1948, his bid for the



Senator Douglas greets factory workers after campaign speech

Presidency was based on a petition with only one signature—his own.

Another Taft man is Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, a public-relations man. Klein supported MacArthur's Far Eastern policies and spoke up in the General's defense when Truman ordered him to come home. Klein charges that this cost him his command of the 109th AAA Brigade of the Illinois National Guard. The brigade was de-activated by Governor Stevenson after most of its firing units were called into federal service, and like MacArthur, Klein found himself without a command after the great debate.

Besides Livingston, the only other candidate who has held public office is Alderman Herbert F. Geisler of Chicago's 34th ward. Geisler has been blind since childhood, but his political vision is highly respected in Chicago municipal affairs. A successful lawyer, he is one of a minority of reform aldermen who have fought what they believe to be an alliance between organized crime and politics.

One of the candidates whose support in the race is not clear is Edgar M. Elbert, former president of Lions International. A Taft supporter in 1952, Elbert favors reducing the budget and cutting out foreign aid. Elbert is not well known outside of service club work.

Another comparatively obscure candidate is John B. Crane, former adviser to Gen. Lucius Clay in Germany and writer. Crane hopes for a reconciliation of the Taft-Eisenhower wings. He is said to be an authority on aviation.

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II. *California Without Warren*

by Currin V. Shields

THE OUTSTANDING feature in the confusing picture of California politics has been the remarkable personality of Earl Warren.

As Governor, Warren was nominally a Republican, but he spoke for the progressive wing of his party, and on issues he was a better Democrat than some of the political leaders who claim that label. Because of his party affiliation, many Republicans who did not share his views on issues nevertheless voted for him, in preference to a Democrat. At the same time, many Democrats who ordinarily would not vote Republican supported Warren, because of his stand on issues, in preference to a conservative Democrat. In addition, Warren was generally regarded as a dedicated public servant of exceptional integrity and ability. So respected was he that many independent voters supported him for his personal qualities, with little regard for either his party affiliation or his political views.

Now this remarkable political figure has withdrawn from California politics. His departure has left a vacuum, which politicians are eagerly scrambling to fill. And surprisingly, no Warren protégé of stature is on the scene to step into the empty shoes. Before leaving office, Governor Warren appointed to administrative or judicial posts most of his ablest aides and leading supporters. Consequently the Warren forces have almost abandoned the political field to their long-standing enemies, the anti-Warren Republicans.

The Republican Party in California has for years been split into the progressive pro-Warren, and the conservative anti-Warren, factions. The champion of the anti-Warren wing has been Goodwin Knight, who with Warren's resignation stepped up from Lieutenant-Governor to Governor, thus achieving his long-cherished ambition. The heir successor to the party's leadership clearly represents a viewpoint at odds with Warren's. Though perhaps not as conservative as some of his supporters would like—no one could be that conservative and stay in politics—Governor Knight still cannot be expected to perpetuate the Warren tradition of progressive state government.

Hence Warren's withdrawal, and Knight's ascendancy to the top political post in the state, presages a struggle within the Republican Party in California. Faithful Warren followers cannot with good conscience accept Knight as the party's standard bearer. And there is no more reason to believe that the Warren forces will voluntarily relinquish their control in the party than that the Knight forces will not seek to consolidate their control. Yet the Warren forces are in the uncomfortable position of a movement in search of a leader.

The eventual outcome of this struggle between the progressive and conservative wings of the party will be exceedingly important. But in 1954 the crucial question for the Republicans is whether they can retain control of the state without the progressive leadership of the remarkable Earl Warren.

A successor to Warren, who was progressive in outlook, with a singular personality and strong appeal for Democratic and independent voters, could probably lead the Republicans to victory again this year. The man who comes closest to filling this bill is the titular head now of the Warren forces—Sen. William Knowland. For a time he was frequently mentioned as a possible gubernatorial candidate, in opposition to Knight. Knowland lacks the stature of Warren but he is a potent vote-getter; he was elected to the Senate in the 1952 primary (cross-filing again) by an overwhelming vote. But apparently he is unwilling to give up his safe and dominant Senate position to become personally embroiled in an intra-party fight, even to prevent the Knight-Nixon faction from consolidating control. Certainly some influential Republicans in Washington talked fast and hard to discourage him from throwing his hat in the gubernatorial ring. For the prize which the winning faction will receive is control of the California delegation to the next Republican National Convention. Neither Nixon nor Knowland has done anything to suggest that they are not aspirants for the party's nomination for the Presidency in 1956.

Early political rumblings indicated the possibility of two Republican slates this year, but now it is highly doubtful that a Knowland-sponsored ticket of "Warren Republicans" will appear on the primary ballot. The fact-finding committee of the California Republican Assembly, the party's unofficial but potent agency for pre-primary endorsements, has given the nod to Knight and Sen. Thomas Kuchel, the incumbent appointed by Governor Warren to succeed Richard Nixon, and has endorsed a "mixed" slate for the lesser state-wide offices. The only real contest between two Republicans may develop over the Lieutenant-Governorship. But that contest is more between personalities than factions.

Yet the chances of a conservative Republican carrying the state in 1954 are not especially bright. Governor

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Knight, who announced his candidacy even before Warren resigned, certainly will be a strong contender for election to the office he now holds. In addition to his popularity among conservatives of both parties, the new Governor is a hard-working, year around campaigner of considerable skill. But he will not arouse the enthusiasm of progressive Republicans, or attract the support of Democrats and independents, the way Governor Warren did. And this year there are no Presidential coattails to ride on.

So it seems that in 1954, with Warren out of the picture and the Republicans divided in sentiment, the Democrats are in a better position than they have been for years to regain control of California politics. Although Republicans now occupy all state-wide elective offices except the Attorney-Generalship, have substantial majorities in both houses of the state legislature, and control as well most local governments, California is, oddly enough, predominantly Democratic. In Presidential years the state has gone Democratic five out of six times since 1928. The margin of registered Democrats over Republicans in 1952 was three to two—approximately 3,312,000 Democrats to 2,197,000 Republicans, though since then the margin has narrowed some.

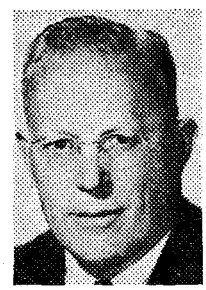
And within the Democratic Party there is ferment. A new force emerging is the organized Democrats who are dissatisfied with the party's past leadership. A striking development in recent state politics has been the rapid and widespread formation of local party clubs. Since the defeat of Adlai Stevenson, interest and enthusiasm have steadily mounted. Now there are hundreds of Democratic clubs in California, and all but a handful have been founded within the past two years. Though chartered by the county central committees, these clubs are for the most part composed of political amateurs, of aroused citizens who are Democrats out of conviction, rather than habit or convenience.

THE OTHER faction, which now controls much of the official party organization in the state, is composed of professional politicians whose faithful adherence to the party's principles is not their distinguishing characteristic. In the past some (but by no means all) have even collaborated with the Republicans. For in California there is a breed of nominal Democrats who habitually form campaign committees for well-heeled Republican candidates, and who generally try to work both sides of the political street.

In 1952 this division within the party became evident when many party professionals, headed by the Attorney-General, attempted to oppose Senator Kefauver in the preferential Presidential primary. Many progressive Democrats mobilized behind Kefauver, who soundly trounced the so-called "uninstructed" slate of delegates to the National Convention. This was in large part a personal victory for the Senator from Tennessee, but it was as well a repudiation of the official party leadership by the rank and file, who would much rather be led than driven.

The control of the party is potentially in the hands of the Democrats in the clubs, rather than the official organization, for the simple reason that it is the club members who can most effectively reach the voters. Most campaign workers, and increasingly too the campaign funds, are in the clubs. But the cleavage between the two factions is complicated. The party's official organization is infiltrated by "club Democrats." While some party officials sincerely represent the progressive Democrats, some clubs are dominated by political hacks.

So the impending struggle within the Democratic Party in California cuts across club and party organization lines. It is between the progressive Democrats working primarily through the clubs and their agencies, the district councils and the professional politicians who retain considerable influence in the official organization, the state and county central committees. What is basically at issue is whether the party is going to assume a "new look" or to continue as a discredited, ineffective, irresponsible Republican foil. Is the party to be controlled from the bottom up, by Democrats in the clubs, or from the top down, by a small coterie of professional political manipulators?



Warren

Part of the answer must come from the new Democratic National Committeeman from California, Paul Ziffren, a Beverly Hills attorney who is a dedicated Democrat and a progressive in outlook. But he was an anti-Kefauver man and was selected by the State Central Committee only over the strenuous opposition of a potent minority bloc. Ziffren's mission is to reconcile the dissident elements within the party, and to mobilize all Democrats for victory in 1954. He is keenly aware of this mission and capable of the acuity and audacity its accomplishment requires. If he succeeds it will not be by conducting political business as usual. In fact party "unity" and Democratic victory may not even go hand in hand, unless the old professionals, whose talent for losing elections is unmatched, are prepared to learn some new political tricks. One trick they must learn is to serve responsibly the party's rank and file, for in California the Democrats can win only if their candidates command the respect and inspire the enthusiasm of the thousands of club members throughout the state who will man the campaigns in the precincts.

The line of cleavage was drawn in 1953 on the question of pre-primary endorsement of candidates. Many Democratic Party leaders long resisted such endorsements. But in the absence of pre-primary endorsements, each candidate is on his own. He must obtain support from some place other than the party. Unfortunately there are many groups handy who are willing to invest

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in the proper candidate's political future. The candidate with the most money and publicity—frequently a cross-filed candidate backed by the Republican Assembly—is liable to take the office in the primary. Then in the general election the Democrats are without a candidate on the ballot and the Republicans win by default.

Last year a determined move was made, following a conference of state leaders at Asilomar, for the party to make pre-primary endorsements, and to back them up with workers and money. It succeeded. Late in November a state convention met at Fresno to found the California Democratic Council, composed of club delegates along with representatives of the official party organization. This meeting planned the first pre-primary California Democratic Convention, which was held at Fresno February 6-7, to endorse a slate of candidates for statewide offices. The Congressional and Assembly district councils have likewise been making endorsements for the primaries this year.

But a smoldering intra-party struggle is not the only Democratic handicap in 1954. The party has lacked candidates of outstanding timber.

IN DEVISING a party ticket in California a complicating factor is always a geography. The bulk of the state's population is concentrated in the two metropolitan areas of the San Francisco Bay Region and Los Angeles County. It is customary to divide political posts equally between the Northern and Southern areas. The parties themselves are organized into Northern and Southern divisions, with a national committee member from each.

The Senate seat up for election "belongs" to Southern California, for the other seat is occupied by Knowland, whose home is in the Bay Region. Senator Kuchel is the major Republican contender; his home is in the Los Angeles area. Governor Knight is likewise from Southern California. So political logic suggested that the Democrats run a Northerner for the Governorship, along with a Southern Californian for the Senate.

By convention time the race had narrowed to two men —Mayor Laurance Cross of Berkeley and Richard Graves of San Francisco. Cross, a life-long Democrat, had cultivated widespread support within the Democratic clubs throughout the state. He appeared to be the most serious and popular contender for the endorsement, until a few weeks before the Convention when the chairman of the Democratic State Central Committee induced Graves to run. A long-time executive director of the League of California Cities and an experienced Sacramento lobbyist, Graves was a registered Republican until a few days before he announced his candidacy in mid-December. However, within a few weeks many party officials in the state had mobilized their support behind Graves.

Feeling ran high in the party caucuses prior to the Convention balloting. Tactics somewhat less than admirable were used, and bitter and irresponsible charges were hurled by both Cross and Graves backers. Despite a well-organized campaign for Graves, upwards of 500 of the approximately 1,300 delegates still cast their ballots for Cross. But the effort of party officials paid off at the showdown. Then from the Convention rostrum Cross exhorted his backers to accept the decision and work for Graves' election.

As with the gubernatorial contest, the Democrats had at hand no really formidable candidate to run for the Senate. Robert M. Hutchins, now associate director of the Ford Foundation at Pasadena, and General Omar Bradley, a resident of Beverly Hills, both refused a draft.

When the Convention assembled the only serious contender for the endorsement was a little-known Los Angeles Congressman, Samuel W. Yorty. Among some party regulars and labor delegates he enjoyed a hard though small core of support. Among most liberal Democrats no enthusiasm was evident for Yorty. A move, immediately after Graves was endorsed, to rush Yorty's endorsement through the Convention, was decisively beaten back.

A sudden groundswell arose instead to draft a delegate from Berkeley who came to the Convention with no intention of running for anything—Dr. Peter Odegard, the distinguished chairman of the political science department at the University of California. When Dr. Odegard was induced to appear before some hurriedly arranged caucuses, his brilliance, forcefulness and sincerity won hundreds of delegates who saw another Adlai Stevenson in the making. The next morning Dr. Odegard received the most spirited ovation of the entire Convention. This spontaneous demonstration, an impressive personal triumph, shocked and startled the Yorty backers, and even took the Odegard camp by surprise. But just a few minutes before his name was to be placed in nomination, Dr. Odegard, for personal reasons, withdrew. The Convention went ahead to endorse Yorty.

The precedent-setting Fresno Convention ended on a note of harmony. But neither Graves nor Yorty can be regarded as the champion of the progressive Democrats, who left Fresno feeling that they may have lost the first battle but were going to win the war. Graves, an untried campaigner, is confronted with the formidable task of earning the confidence of thousands of Democratic club members who work the precincts. And Yorty's task is to convince them that he is sincerely devoted to the party's best interests. The outcome of the forthcoming election depends heavily on how well these two men perform these tasks.

Neither party is blessed with a reasonable facsimile of an Earl Warren to fill the void his departure left in California politics. Temporary control of the Republican Party is in the hands of the Old Guard. The Democratic Party has gambled that 1954 is not the year for a resurgence of liberalism in California. That the Golden State will continue the Warren tradition in state politics, or will pass into the Democratic column in 1954, is, to say the least, doubtful.

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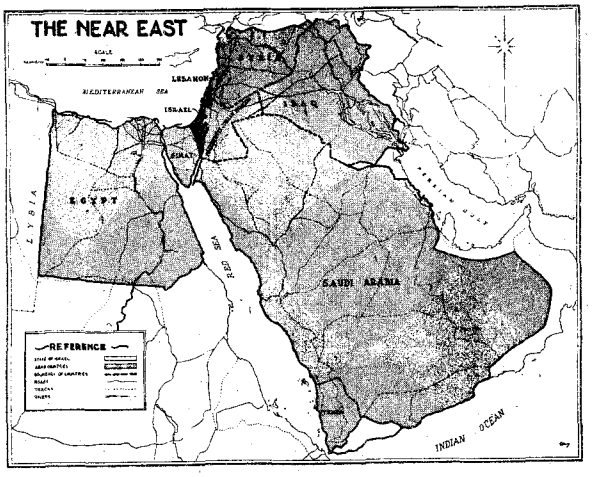
FOR 500 YEARS, since the end of the golden age of the Moslem world, the Middle East has in fact been the pawn of powerful outsiders, though ostensibly governed by rulers who survived by skillfully playing the double game of serving alien masters while blaming them for the miserable life led by native populations.



Those rulers now have focused popular resentment on Israel as the symbol and final phase of Western imperialism.

When the effort to wipe out Israel failed, the US, sensitive to the strategic importance of the area, hoped and worked for an easing of tension which would permit building a joint Middle East defense. That hope has faded. Now, Secretary Dulles has advanced a policy for winning the Arab world to the West by offer of arms.

In the following pages, Mr. Alan—who in the December 14, 1953, *NR* reported on the growing number of Nazis employed by Middle East governments—analyzes how much security for the West Mr. Dulles' policy is likely to buy.

Should the West Drop Israel?

by Ray Alan

ISRAELIS seem upset over King Saud's insistence that the time is ripening for another bout of "surgery" in Palestine. They ought, on the contrary, to be grateful to him for so forcibly attracting attention to a belief now spreading through the Arab states like a forest fire and heating the expectant passions of extremism to incandescence. This belief is that the US Government has decided to "drop" Israel.

An Arab diplomat who claims to be in the know has expressed it this way: "America is tired of being relegated by Moslem opinion to the same 'imperialist' category as Britain and France. She is anxious to win friends and influence people—with a view to safeguarding her oil interests and persuading the Near East to defend herself against Russia. The State Department has therefore been instructed to go all out to capture Arab good will even at the risk of not merely offending Israel but actually jettisoning Israeli interests."

This is the kind of context in which King Saud's recent outbursts must be read. They came, significantly, after US officials in the Near East had made known their government's intention of building up the armed forces of Saudi-Arabia and certain other Moslem states. Cairo's cynical self-confidence over the Suez Canal blockade and the increased truculence of Baghdad and Amman are part of the same pattern. Rightly or wrongly, public opinion in every Arab capital is convinced that a "second round" against Israel, remote a year ago, has suddenly been brought within the bounds of probability; and the impression is spreading that when it comes official America will be looking the other way.

Wishful thinking on these lines began as long ago as President Eisenhower's election. Truman, the Zionist, was out; and in his place sat a military man known to be awed by the vast strategic expanse of the Moslem world and on record with a declaration that America should spare no effort to woo the Arab states. It was encouraged by occasional anti-Israel innuendoes in handouts of US Information Offices in the Arab capitals and by the fact that covert US financial support was given to violently anti-Jewish papers in Beirut, Damascus and elsewhere. Then came Mr. Dulles' lightning tour of the Near East and his report thereon, both indicative that the US Secretary of State had made up his mind on the main objects of his attention before leaving Washington.

As 1953 drew to a close it became known in the Arab capitals that the State Department had evolved a policy which bore traces of what was taken to be Mr. Dulles' impatience with Whitehall's "MEDO" legpull and Anglo-Israeli unwillingness to perform an act of renunciation sufficiently dramatic to disarm Arab hostility. The new policy provided (it was reliably stated) for the supply of American arms, equipment and military advice to selected Arab League states—Saudi-Arabia and Iraq, in the first place, but ultimately Egypt too, provided her dispute with Britain was settled peacefully and the Naguib regime survived. Its aim was to win Arab goodwill, stabilize the Near East and lessen the region's attractions to Soviet military planners. At the same time the grosser errors of Britain's self-defeating treaty

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policies were to be avoided. The arms and advice would be conspicuously stringless, an earnest of America's selfless good intentions: the recipient governments would neither be embarrassed by formal treaty ties or other obligations nor even "insulted" by being asked to guarantee not to use their new toys against Israel.

IT MUST BE pointed out at once that the blank space in the margins around this page would be more than sufficient for recording the names of all those Arabs, Levantines and Egyptians who would really believe that whatever arms their governments might obtain from America or any other power were genuinely stringless. After 30 centuries of playing off successive would-be protectors, liberators and big brothers against each other, in the intervals of being invaded and massacred by them, the inhabitants of this crossroads between the continents have come to regard themselves as authorities on big-power psychology. History seems, deplorably, to have convinced them that altruism is a luxury in which big powers rarely indulge; and one of the few predictable consequences of a major military giveaway program would be of violent mistrust of the power sponsoring it—mistrust already voiced, in fact, by General Naguib: in attacking the State Department's New Line he has shown his anxiety to keep in step with Arab public opinion as well as to raise his own price.

So much for the goodwill the new policy is expected to earn. What of the stability and security angles? But for the existence of Israel my own inclination would be to greet the Dulles plan, under both these heads, as a brilliant risk—the most obvious element of risk lying in the danger that the arms provided might, as in China, be sold to or seized by the Communists, or otherwise turned against their donors, in the event of hostilities. The effort to avoid Britain's tortuous tomfooleries is courageous and creditable. Since Israel does exist, however, the plan must be examined primarily in the perspective of Arab-Israel relations—the biggest single issue affecting the stability and strategic solidity of the Levant.

One of the few factors tending to unite most of the present leaders of the tatterdemalion Arab League until recently has been, paradoxically enough, fear of the consequences of an unsuccessful second round in Palestine. Appreciating that the upheaval which would follow another Arab League defeat would be no mere wave of palace revolts and military *coups*, alarming as these have appeared to the West at times during the last few years, the more cautious Arab leaders have been anxious to take no unnecessary risks; and while obliged, for their own political health, to operate behind the same old camouflage-net of xenophobic and anti-Jewish slogans that has by now served a whole generation of Arab politicians, some of them would even confess to unwilling gratitude for the slowdown of Western arms-supplies that has permitted them, with no loss of face, to point out the impossibility of throwing the Zionists into the sea for the time being.

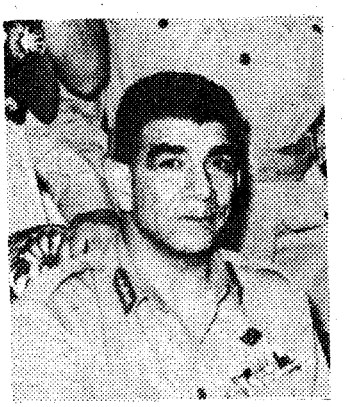
If Washington now supplies the principal Arab League states with the arms and equipment needed for a fresh onslaught on Israel it will be divesting Arab moderates of this face-saver. Rabble-rousers in every Arab city will urge the favored governments: "If these tanks, guns and aircraft really are yours, to do as you like with, prove it—by dispatching them to wipe out New Jerusalem and Tel Aviv!" And since, in the past, America has consistently opposed a disproportionate build-up of either Arab or Israeli armaments in the interests of regional stability, a reversal of her policy in the Arabs' favor must inevitably be interpreted as a green light.

Military and diplomatic planners, working in the moral vacuum that is one of their occupational hazards, might argue: "Well, why worry? The sooner this whole Zionist blunder is liquidated the better. With Israel out of the way the Arabs would be happy, the Near East a good deal more stable, and we could have all the facilities we needed there." This is the line of logic being peddled almost incessantly now—at lunch, cocktails and dinner—to American officials and businessmen in the Arab capitals. It is the sort of thing their British opposite numbers once fell for in Syria and Palestine—at a cost Whitehall is still reckoning.

As a military program, obliteration of Israel is ludicrous, of course—but not uninstructive. It is a reminder that no Arab leader dare lay off tilting at this receding succession of windmills so long as the mounting internal problems from which they so conveniently distract attention remain neglected—that until genuinely reformist elements come to power in the Arab world a full set of foreign bogies will continue to be the Arab politician's basic equipment. "Liquidation" of the Zionist embarrassment would merely result in the transfer of political and press agitation to the next convenient enemy in sight—Britain, France, Turkey or America herself. I have even known the Egyptian authorities whip up press campaigns and demonstrations against such—one would have thought—unlikely targets as Greece and Switzerland.

Even if Washington did persuade the Arab governments to respect the *status quo* in Palestine, no long-term stabilization would be achieved. Israel would be driven to build up her own war potential at a frantic rate, and the extremists of her right-wing *Herut* party could be

King Saud



General Naguib

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Israeli cadets in the field

relied upon to keep the truce-lines seething with incidents of the Quibya type in order, as they believe, to scare the Arabs off. Even this tense, turbulent "stability" would disintegrate in the event of war with Russia, whenever Arab intransigents might judge the Western powers to be too busy elsewhere to worry about Israel: the Near East would thus go to pieces in the worst possible circumstances for the democracies.

These dangers could be lessened by arming Israel to the same extent as her neighbors. This would strengthen the position of the more cautious Arab leaders and demonstrate in the clearest possible way to King Saud that whatever hardware the US Government may supply is really for self-defense against Russia, or failing this necessity for keeping his brothers and wives in order, and not for dynastic adventures in the Holy Land. But it would still not guarantee stability. The statesman who supplies large quantities of arms to the Arab states while they are in the throes of their present hectic socio-political evolution must expect to upset internal equilibriums already highly precarious. Bigger Arab armies will mean more—and more violent—*coups d'état* and an increasingly ruthless attitude to minorities. Syria celebrated the receipt of her first British war material in 1946 with a vigorous repression of her Alawite minority and opened 1954 by employing French-supplied arms against the Druzes. The Iraqi army, whose sole claim to military prowess rests on its massacre of the Assyrian Christians, is itching for a "second round" against the Kurdish mountaineers of northern Iraq who but for the intervention of the British RAF would have routed it in their 1945-46 revolt. And no enemy of America eager to plunge US oil interests in Arabia into a Persian- or Egyptian-type maelstrom of instability need do more than advocate the militarization of the Saudi kingdom.

Part of the trouble with the Near East is that it looks so simple and straight-forward on paper. What could seem more contemptible, more utterly useless, to a master-strategist than tiny Israel, by comparison with the immense open spaces and millions of inhabitants of the Arab states? It is not until he becomes acquainted with the differing standards of health, hygiene, education, justice and administrative efficiency accepted as normal on both sides of the truce-lines, and such matters as the ease with which one may bribe one's way out of military service or into a government job, that he will appreciate the staggering fact that Israel is able to put into the field a military force twice as large as, say, Egypt's, despite the 20-to-one numerical superiority of the Egyptian population. Yet even this quantitative paradox is insignificant beside the mental gulf between the Israeli, for whom democracy is a vital, cherished way of life, and who has had every opportunity of studying and rejecting Communism at the polls, and the average Egyptian or Iraqi for whom both democracy and Communism are unfamiliar foreign words he can barely understand: as things are, the former comes to him tainted by its connections with Anglo-French "imperialism," while the latter is, if anything, glamorized by its association with people who believe in disembowelling landlords.

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S 1947 program to build up the economic and military strength of Greece and Turkey to help them withstand Soviet pressure must rank with his defeat of the Berlin blockade and his riposte to aggression in Korea as one of the three most decisive peacetime curbs ever put on an expansionist power. That President Eisenhower and Mr. Dulles should seek to emulate this triple achievement is both natural and commendable. But the success of the Truman Doctrine in Turkey and Greece (now being jeopardized, incidentally, in the latter state by premature curtailment of economic aid) was decided by its timing and the fact that it harmonized perfectly with political and psychological conditions in both countries. In Persia a similar program failed because no such harmonization was possible there; and conditions in the Arab states to which Mr. Dulles is considering extending his version of the Doctrine are even less auspicious. As Mr. Wilson might agree, market-research is just as good for the State Department as for General Motors.

Oddly enough, Mr. Dulles' salesmanship, too, shows signs of unexpected weaknesses. His Cabinet colleagues could have warned him that nothing builds up sales-resistance faster than a too-obvious desire to sell. (President Truman demonstrated the converse of this with his *de jure* recognition of Israel. Within a week Saudi-Arabia, Syria and Lebanon all granted American firms important new oil and pipeline concessions that, earlier, they had been sitting on; the late King Abdul-Aziz ibn Saud decided to elevate his Washington representative to ambassadorial status; and the Egyptian Premier called for an Arab-American *rapprochement*. Of course, you have to be someone like Harry Truman or Danny Kaye to pull off *coups* of that kind; but the lesson is there.) In diplomacy, moreover, even a slump is sometimes better than a sale to the wrong kind of customer; and until he has really made up his mind whether to throw Israel to the wolves or treat her as a providential asset, Mr. Dulles would do well to avoid change merely for the sake of change.

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GERALD W. JOHNSON: *The Superficial Aspect*

TRANSVALUATION of values is a large, mouth-filling phrase that to an indifferently educated observer of the superficial aspect of things had more sonority than sense until recently; but the Eisenhower Administration has brought it down from the upper strata of philosophy and made it the talk of the town.

From the foundation of the republic it has been known even to the superficial that two different and, in some respects, mutually exclusive sets of values contended for dominance in our political philosophy. The values accepted by Thomas Jefferson constituted one set, those of Alexander Hamilton the other. But these sets were to a large extent complementary; a rational man could believe parts of both, so that political Left and Right in this country consisted of Jeffersonians influenced by Hamilton, and Hamiltonians influenced by Jefferson.

The recent transvaluation of values seems to consist in the relegation to the rear of both sets and the bringing forward of a third—the values accepted by Aaron Burr. Since every man must be held innocent until he is proved guilty, Burr must be held innocent of treason; but his failure to repudiate the effort to make him President when he knew that Jefferson had been elected is proof that he regarded whatever is legal as morally defensible; and to equate legality with morality is to accept the values of a scoundrel.

The willingness of certain Republican leaders to permit the public to believe that the Eisenhower Administration had discovered and discharged 2,200 subversives in the government service when it had done nothing of the sort was willingness to profit by what they knew was not true. It was not illegal, but it was neither Hamiltonian nor Jeffersonian. It was strictly Burrite.

So is the theory of guilt by association. Burr was a cynic, and it is the cynical view that all men are weaklings except those who are villains. But a weakling in contact with a villain will be led by the nose and therefore is a security risk. Thus we have the syllogism: all men who read the *New Republic* are villains; your Uncle Oscar reads the *New Republic*; ergo, your Uncle Oscar is a villain and you, being acquainted with him, will be led by the nose. Thus you are a security risk even though you may never read a copy of the *New Republic* in your life.

The theory that whatever is good for General Motors is good for the United States is another modern value that would have appealed to Burr. It is conceivable that he brought himself firmly to believe that whatever was good for Aaron Burr would be good for the United States. This is perhaps one reason for holding him innocent of treason. If he actually thought that setting up Aaron the First as Emperor of Arkansas would be good for the United States, then he was not guilty of levying war upon his country, or of consciously giving aid and comfort to its enemies. But it was a fantastically dangerous idea, nevertheless.

Legality as equivalent to morality; guilt by association; and self-interest as public interest, are none of them new ideas. They are values that have always been accepted by a certain number of Americans; but the number has been small, and it has always been regarded as a not very reputable minority.

The transvaluation consists in according these ideas a dominant position in our political philosophy. To a believer in the old-fashioned Hamilton-Jefferson complex it is a radical change. It matters little whether he is a liberal who puts the emphasis on Jefferson, or a conservative, who puts the emphasis on Hamilton, for in either case he is very definitely not a Burrite. He has been brought up in the belief that the moral values of Aaron Burr were materially lower than those either of Thomas Jefferson or of Alexander Hamilton, so the change means to him a deterioration in the moral tone of Washington.

Thus he is astonished by the claims that a great sanctification of the capital has been effected as a result of the election of 1952. If a transition from the politics of Jefferson and Hamilton to the politics of Aaron Burr indicates an elevation of the moral tone of public life, there has been a transvaluation of values indeed—they have been transvalued to a flashing and flaming fare-you-well!

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

FORMER NAVAL PERSON

by Arthur Schlesinger Jr.

THIS IS A brilliant book idea, and it is executed with liveliness and dash.

As Winston Churchill approaches his eightieth birthday, he is obviously due for new literary tributes. Yet, until some historical genius (say Mr. Isaiah Berlin) is allowed to brood for years in the Churchill papers, it will be hard to produce a startling new work on a man whose public life has already been so well recorded, especially by himself. Miss Virginia Cowles' gallant try last year showed both the possibilities and the limitations of a straight-out biography. Mr. Eade's bright idea is to get Churchill's contemporaries to comment on the Churchill story. They are lured into reminiscence, so to speak, and out of the cumulative impact of their various memories there emerges with astonishing force a portrait of this many-sided and fabulous man.

CHURCHILL BY HIS CONTEMPORARIES, edited by Charles Eade (Simon and Schuster; $6).

The roster of authors covers a wide range, from Churchill's personal private secretary and his bodyguard to a selection of political colleagues and opponents, from military and naval figures who served with and under him to men of letters evaluating his work, from Eleanor Roosevelt ("Churchill as a Guest") and Paul Reynaud ("Churchill and France") to Adolf Hitler and Dwight D. Eisenhower (both represented by excerpts from already published books). The scenes and topics are equally various, ranging from Harrow to Pretoria and from Gallipoli to Yalta, from statecraft and war to journalism and painting, from science and oratory to horse-racing and humor.

The essays themselves vary considerably in tone and approach. Most of them are new; but Mr. Eade has wisely reprinted G. W. Steevens' remarkable piece of 1898, called "The Youngest Man in Europe," a memorable and perceptive sketch of Churchill at 24. Sir Compton Mackenzie has an engaging piece on Churchill in a forgotten role—as novelist. The House of Commons is well handled, with Emanuel Shinwell writing fondly and respectfully on Churchill the political opponent, and Earl Winterton describing Churchill the parliamentarian. Lord Altrincham has a provocative analysis of Churchill in international affairs; George Isaacs pulls few punches in writing about Churchill and the trade unions; and Professor A. M. Low is interesting on Churchill and science. Two of the best essays are Malcolm Muggeridge's on Churchill the biographer and historian, a keen and discriminating estimate, and A. P. Herbert's on Churchill's humor.

One notes only a few omissions. "Churchill the Economist" could have been fun; after all, Churchill was once Chancellor of the Exchequer for five improbable years, in addition, of course, to a happier period as head of the Board of Trade before the First World War. What a shame Keynes could not have lived to write this! But the absence of an essay on "Churchill and Religion" is likely to be more noticeable these days in the United States, where, in this age of what Mr. Justice Jackson has accurately termed "compulsory godliness," hardly a month goes by without a new presidential bull proclaiming that human liberty rests on faith in the supernatural. Only Professor Joad ("Churchill the Philosopher") ever brings the matter up, and all he can produce is Churchill's ironic remark that religion during the First World War offered its consolations "impartially to all the combatants." Yet, for all this, one feels in Churchill a capacity for humility and for reverence which is a good deal closer to true religion than the self-righteous, *Gott-mit-uns* pronouncements of President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles.

The prevailing mood of these contributions is not solemn eulogy; it is a sign of Churchill's greatness that he could now provoke the type of pompous *Festchrift* which is likely to be dedicated to a Benes, a Thomas Mann or a Herbert Hoover. His public face, no matter how stern and formidable, never quite submerges the private face, twinkling forever underneath. Humanity keeps breaking through the official personality; candor and high spirits are alike irrepressible; and the result is to stimulate humanity, candor and high spirits in others. So, far from wallowing in adulation, the authors do not hesitate to criticize Churchill, point out his errors, poke fun at his foibles, even indulge in irreverence, but all in a framework of deep human affection and abiding public respect.

Is Churchill, as has been so often said, a man of another century, operating strangely, if successfully, in our modern age? There is, of course, an Elizabethan luxuriance about him as a character and an imperial boldness about him as a statesman which are alien to these times. Yet Steevens could say of him in 1898, "He has the twentieth century in his marrow"; and this symposium by his twentieth century contemporaries strengthens that impression. It was not just that he was born of an American mother, and that his father was the first man in London to install electric lights in a private house. Churchill was an inveterate rebel in his own right. He hated classics, for example, and consequently spent years in the Fourth Form at Harrow. And he continued to break the rules all his life, so successfully, indeed, that his nation could not bring itself to summon him to power until it stood on the brink of catastrophe. Even his recreations, as Bernard Shaw took pleasure in pointing out, were those of a civilized man, not of a British aristocrat: "painting and bricklaying, not hunting and shooting."

The liberal American image of Churchill as a picturesque and doughty anachronism was largely fixed by his intransigence on India. It was renewed, of course, during the Second World War by his famous growl about not presiding over His Majesty's Government in order to liquidate the British Empire. Yet his determination to hold on to India was, in a way, inconsistent for the man who had sympathized (after the war) with

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the Boers, made peace with the Irish and associated himself with the Zionists. If I were to guess on the matter, I would suspect that the difference was that the Boers, the Irish and the Jews fought and the Indians didn't. If India could have organized itself any time in the last few generations, it could have thrown out the British overnight. Until it showed this amount of will and resolution Churchill might well have said to himself, it was not ready for self-government. He would have been wrong, but such reasoning would not have been wholly contemptible.

He is a figure of tradition, certainly, but not a figure of reaction. He looks back in some respects; but his backward glances are perhaps less important than his forward thrusts. He embodies much that was valuable in the past, as well as some that was absurd; but he combines this with a vast and gusty appetite for the modern world. In the long run, his passionate sense of honor and courage and magnanimity may be more enduring than the more novel values of such purer twentieth century types as Lenin and Hitler. Indeed, of all the great contemporaries he has outlived—Lloyd George, Wilson, Clemenceau, Lenin; Baldwin, Macdonald, Streseman, Coolidge; Roosevelt, Hitler, Mussolini, Stalin—which would be doing better in the age of Eisenhower and Malenkov?

And still, nearing eighty, he rolls on, like the Mississippi of which we spoke with such relish, "inexorable, irresistible, benignant," to we hope "broader lands and better days"; or, in the language he himself applied to Admiral Fisher "as in a great castle, which has long contended with time, the mighty central mass of the donjon towered up intact and seemingly everlasting."

A WRITER'S MIRROR

FROM 1915, the year of her first book, until 1941, the year of her death, Virginia Woolf kept extensive diaries, and from the twenty-six books of diary that she left behind, her husband has now selected the entries that comprise this considerable volume, *A Writer's Diary*. The title suggests the four kinds of entries that Leonard Woolf has mainly been concerned to include: all comments on her own work; passages that may be seen as literary exercises (". . . in this book I practice writing; do my scales; yes and work at certain effects"); some passages that expose the impact upon her imagination of actual persons, events, scenes; and comments on the writings of others. What emerges most prominently, therefore, is the literary personality, Virginia Woolf at work, but behind that portrait are at least certain very prominent features of the whole personality of the woman, and behind that, in turn, the mistier outlines of the somehow ghostlike presences who inhabited her world.

A WRITER'S DIARY, by Virginia Woolf (Harcourt, Brace; $5).

One is impressed, first of all, with the effort, even the agony that went into her writing, the pain as acute as the ardor. Only *Orlando* seemed to come easily, and one feels still the case of composition in the high spirits of that *tour de force*; but it is of course not a novel. The difficulty of composing the novels came from the special approach that she made to them, for she "foresaw" them in a curiously literal sense. Writing of *Mrs. Dalloway*, she says, "I want to foresee this book better than the others and get the utmost out of it. I expect I could have screwed *Jacob* up tighter, if I had foreseen; but I had to make my path as I went." By "foreseeing," she evidently meant an act of visualization not in dramatic terms (one scene after another unfolding before her mind's eye, through to the end) but in imagistic terms that had to do with basic and controlling structure. These images might be highly concrete, as with *To the Lighthouse* ("the center is father's character, sitting in a boat, reciting 'We perished, each alone,' while he crushes a dying mackerel") or they might be considerably abstract. Of *Mrs. Dalloway* she wrote:

> I should say a good deal about . . . my discovery: how I dig out beautiful caves behind my characters: I think that gives exactly what I want; humanity, humour, depth. The idea is that the caves shall connect and each comes to daylight at the present moment.

And of *The Years*: "I visualize this book now as a curiously uneven time sequence —a series of great balloons, linked by straight narrow passages of narrative."

The kind of self-question to which she was given (and it should be said that she almost always asked the right questions, even when she avoided answers) arose inevitably from these basic conceptions to which her imagination was characteristically given. "Have I the power of conveying the true reality?" she asked. "Or do I write essays about myself?" And later: "I have an idea that I will invent a new name for my books to supplant 'novel'. *Orlando* was a kind of release: I'm glad to be quit this time of writing 'a novel'; and hope never to be accused of it again." The recognition, like the ambition, lingered: "I can make up situations, but I cannot make up plots," she wrote in 1927; and in 1931, "Odd, that they [*The Times*] should praise my characters when I meant to have none."

From the self-questions came the self-doubts and the self-judgments. Eliot's saying nothing at all at a party leads her to reflect how "what I'm doing is probably being better done by Mr. Joyce. . . . what is it that I am doing?" She knew well enough what she was doing. In her last entry she wrote, "When Desmond praises *East Coker*, and I am jealous, I walk over the marsh saying, I am I: and must follow that furrow, not copy another," and although at this point one may be reminded of all the echoes of *Prufrock* in *The Waves*, one must yet see here how, quite early in her writing life, she had already taken the measure: "suppose I might become one of the interesting—I will not say great —but interesting novelists?" From that it was only a step to the confession in her

. . . To make ideas effective, we must be able to fire them off. We must put them into action. And the hornet in the sky rouses another hornet in the mind. . . . "I will not cease from mental fight," Blake wrote. Mental fight means thinking against the current, not with it. That current flows fast and furious. It issues in a spate of words from the loudspeakers and the politicians. Every day they tell us that we are a free people fighting to defend freedom. That is the current that has whirled the young airman up into the sky and keeps him circling there among the clouds. Down here, with a roof to cover us and a gas mask handy, it is our business to puncture gas bags and discover seeds of truth. . . . VIRGINIA WOOLF

New Republic, October 21, 1940

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late years, "What I'm afraid of is the taunt charm and emptiness."

Fear. This is what a stranger, who knew her face only from the many august and sometimes admonitory photographs, would least have expected to find in her. But fear, by which one means uncertainty about her own worth, was apparently among her first qualities.

After each book she lived in an agony of trepidation until she knew the opinions of her friends and the reviewers, who were often the same people. Her snobbery, made painfully evident in many ways in these diaries, was perhaps the counterpart of her uncertainty; as her sometimes extraordinary insensitivity to the condition of others may have been the consequence of her long and losing battle with illness. The self-portrait that these portions of her diary sketch suggests a haunted woman by no means wholly admirable, and the portrait fits uneasily in that larger social framework of which it was such a central part.

"Morgan came on Friday; Tom on Saturday." This might be the text of the book. E. M. Forster and T. S. Eliot are only two of the many distinguished names that make up the cast of characters with which Leonard Woolf has helpfully prefaced this book. It is all of "Bloomsbury," and Virginia Woolf's self-revelations support both the hostile outsider's view of that association ("a certain arrogant exclusiveness, anti-herd intellectualism, and a superior moral-frivolity") and the sympathetic insider's, Desmond MacCarthy's, for example, when he wrote, "There was enough mutual respect and affection, well tested by time, to supply cement; enough difference of temperament and opinion to stimulate talk; enough intellectual honesty to enable them to learn from each other." But one may wonder whether they support Eliot's view of it, as propounded in his words about Virginia Woolf after her death. "Her position," he then wrote, "maintained the dignified and admirable tradition of Victorian upper middle-class culture." How precariously it was maintained, if at all, and below the surface, surely, there was chiefly an ever mounting confusion and an ever gathering darkness, until Virginia Woolf herself wrote:

All the walls, the protecting and reflecting walls, wear so terribly thin in this war. There's no standard to write for: no public to echo back; even the "tradition" has become transparent. . . . we live without a future. That's what's queer: with our noses pressed to a closed door.

At the end there is a good deal of moving, muted heroism, and there is more pathos:

I said to L: I don't want to die yet. . . . Oh, I try to imagine how one's killed by a bomb. I've got it fairly vivid—the sensation: but can't see anything but suffocating nonentity following after. I shall think—oh I wanted another 10 years—not this—and shan't, for once, be able to describe it. It—I mean death; no, the scrunching and scrambling, the crushing of my bone shade in on my very active eye and brain: the process of putting out the light—painful? Yes. Terrifying. I suppose so. Then a swoon . . . two or three gulps attempting consciousness—and then dot dot dot.

It is a cry from the lost that one hears in that second last entry, Sunday, December 22, 1940, where Virginia Woolf recalls Sir Leslie Stephen and his wife, her parents: "How beautiful they were, those old people. . . . " That age was already long dead when this woman and hers were dying. MARK SCHORER

PRESIDENTIAL POWERS

IT MIGHT be well if every student of political science could be thoroughly grounded in a good stiff course in biology. Then he would get the point of Woodrow Wilson's observation that the science of politics responds to the law of Darwin and not of Kepler. It seems like an endless struggle, this freeing ourselves from the mechanistic conception of government. The current manifestation of this delusion is the Bricker amendment based upon the assumption that safety lies in setting up *verboten* signs. This is what a super legalism leads us to.

THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT, by Sidney Hyman (Harper; $4).

We have long been accustomed to think that we can get at an understanding of the Presidency by gorging our minds with constitutional clauses, statutory provisions, and court decisions. An alien visitor, hoping to get at the matter in that way, would never discover what it is like. The Presidency is a living institution, a genuine outgrowth of the American political soil. There is not a trace of anything alien about it. The office of colonial governor made its transition over into that of the Revolutionary State Governor which provided the model the fathers of the Constitution used for the office of President.

It is soul satisfying to find a scholar gifted with an understanding of political dynamics and capable of interpreting the Presidency as a living institution. Walton Hamilton has characterized institution as "a cluster of social usages." That, by and large, is what Sidney Hyman finds the Presidency to be, indeed what it has been throughout its more than a century and a half of development. One is struck with the rich fund of information, the broad reading, that contributes to this illuminating interpretation. Here is no dry-as-dust compendium of legalisms, but a clear-cut exposition over a philosophic pattern.

The fact that the President both reigns and rules is adduced by an abundance of pertinent illustrations. He is the people's choice and the office is thereby largely shaped into the institution it has become. Partly government makes its contributions. Hyman mentions the need for a "compilation of Presidential usages and precedents" and thereby suggests what has had so much to do with the making of the Presidency as an instittuion.

As the party leader the President should be an artist in group diplomacy building up winning majorities but his artistry does not end with his election. He needs, throughout hs administration, to be building up *ad hoc* bi-partisan combinations of supporting interest groups in order to get enacted his policies and to fortify him in executing them. Thus he may establish the "balance between what the law allows and what policies demand."

There is a shrewd examination of the persistent demand that over multi-group political parties be given a thorough shaking up and that there be established instead a realignment of conservatives against liberals. The argument presented against this change is irrefutable. The telling point is made that a purely conservative President could never even pretend to play the role of President of the American people. The shock of the passing of power from one party to the other would then be terrific. The point is made that the transition from a Labor to a Conservative government in England is cushioned by the broad group combination constituting each of the major English parties.

It is difficult to believe that Hyman did not have the present administration

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in mind when he wrote that "the Presidential victor frequently pursues the same basic course he formerly attacked." This, of course, is inevitable since the predecessor's course is subject to the same play of social forces that dictates the policies of the successor unless there is a radical change of circumstances.

Hyman shows his keen understanding of social dynamics especially in his treatment of our national nominating conventions. The absolutely unplanned origin of this institution and its evolution in response to chance and circumstances is what evidently makes it so practical. There is no question but what the national nominating convention is a faithful expression of the genius of the American people—of their folkways and mores. Hyman demonstrates the impossibility of the proposed national nominating party primary as a substitute. The mass of party voters at the polls could never exercise the calculated choice of a suitable candidate that the delegates can in a convention.

The closing chapter deals with reform, "The Reorganization of the Executive." One by one the listed proposals are considered: sharing the burden with the Vice-President; holding the Cabinet collectively responsible for policy and administration; a Cabinet secretariat to oversee the departments, seating Cabinet members in Congress to participate in debate; a Council of Elder Statesmen to advise the President; a Legislative Council consisting of party leaders in Congress, Elder Statesmen and Cabinet. One by one each of these is weighed in the balance and found wanting, even practically impossible.

No wonder the list is impossible of achievement for each proposal is a product of the intellect instead of the deep seated forces of American Society. Reform here is severely limited by the social forces that have made the American Presidency. It might be said that the Presidency is, like the national nominating convention, a natural expression of the political genius of the American people, that it is what the folkways and mores of our race have made it and these are persistent and stubborn social forces. No fundamental improvement will ever be made at a given moment of history. Instead the Presidency will grow as it always has by relatively minor and probably unplanned changes in harmony with the spirit that animates American democracy. WILFRED E. BINKLEY

ERRORS OF OPTIMISM

HUMAN BEINGS have been arguing about ethics for several thousands of years without arriving at any conclusions which command general assent. There are two pitfalls awaiting the unwary speculator. In the first place, is moral goodness to be regarded as an end or as a means? The belief that certain qualities or actions are intrinsically and absolutely good can scarcely be justified without recourse to religious revelation and, when tested experimentally by application to practical exigencies, can easily lead to paradoxical or absurd conclusions. On the other hand, an instrumentalist ethics involves an infinite regress, since the ultimate values to which moral goodness is instrumental remain elusive.

In the second place, even if we arrive at an acceptable definition of goodness, we have not solved the problem of explaining why human beings should feel obligated to conform to it. Why should the individual regard himself as morally compelled to subordinate his self-interest to the interests of the whole? Is the moral sense to be attributed to the nature of man, to social conditioning, to the love and fear of God, or (in Nietzsche's scornful words) to "the herd-instinct in the individual"?

Any answer given to either of these problems is likely to be, in large measure, a product of social conditions rather than of processes of pure reasoning. The ethics of Professor Perry is clearly a reflection of American democratic ideals and institutions. He regards moral goodness as instrumental rather than absolute, the end being harmonious happiness through the reconciliation of interests; and he supposes that human beings have a natural tendency to accept the welfare of the whole as paramount. His whole book can, in fact, be regarded as a justification of the Jeffersonian faith in man's capacity for freedom and self-government.

As with American society in general, one is left somewhat torn between admiration for the qualities of generosity and good will which it displays and fear lest its optimism about human nature may prevent a realistic approach to the crisis of twentieth century civilization. H. B. PARKES

REALMS OF VALUE, by Ralph Barton Perry (Harvard; $7.50).

THE WRIT AND THE ROBE

IF Editor Edmond Cahn, professor of law in New York University, is responsible for the unity that binds together this six-man anthology upon a subject which invites tangential reasoning, he must be credited with something more than setting an extremely high level in his introductory chapter. Ordinarily, an undertaking by five law professors and one legal practitioner to evaluate the American system of judicial review by its history would produce a pro-and-con dispute—a double line of intersecting parabolas reflecting the varying predilections of the Supreme Court and the authors.

SUPREME COURT AND SUPREME LAW, edited by Edmond Cahn (Indiana; $4).

The chance for this was diminished by the absence of ex-presidents of the American Bar Association from the panel. Nevertheless, six diverse individuals—Willard Hurst, Paul A. Freund, John Frank, Charles Curtis, Ralph Bischoff and Mr. Cahn himself—united chiefly by a common devotion to human rights in an orderly democracy, have approached a highly controversial subject from different angles and reached a surprising degree of agreement.

The greatest compulsion exerted on the Court, it appears from this study, comes from the social and economic imperatives which periodically scuff the justices' reluctant heels, and from the restraining but not unchanging mores of the people, which tend to keep judge-made law somewhat in the rear of justice even when moving toward it. All of the authors would endorse the observation with which Curtis closes the symposium: "What we owe to Marshall is the opportunity he gave us of combining a reign of conscience with a republic." IRVING BRANT

Notes on the Critics

HARVARD PROFESSOR ARTHUR SCHELSINGER JR. is the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *The Age of Jackson.* MARK SCHORER'S novel, *The Wars of Love,* will be published in March. WILFRED BINKLEY is the Republican mayor of Ada, Ohio. H. B. PARKES has recently published a history of the United States. IRVING BRANT is completing another volume of his biography of James Madison.

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***by* F. J. P. VEALE, with a Foreword by the Very Rev. William Ralph Inge, Dean of St. Paul's.**

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NR-9

From Our Readers

► Anonymous Propaganda

Publicly at least we all insist that even fools and knaves should be allowed to speak and publish freely. It is therefore time to consider the rights of that larger number of us whose role is to listen and to read. To be specific, when propaganda, either spoken or written, is addressed to the public, should we be told something of those who have prepared it, and of those who are paying for its distribution?

Oral propaganda is seldom anonymous. Custom has decreed that no one shall speak in public without disclosing his identity and this rule is observed from the soap-box to the television station. Nor are we often annoyed by mysterious telephone calls to our home, or anonymous and hostile mutterings when we walk abroad. We may still want protection from spoken insults, but oral propaganda raises no serious problems.

Written propaganda is another matter. It comes in floods to anyone whose name is on a list of presumably "influential" persons, *i.e.,* publishers, professors, pastors and the like, and much of this propaganda is, for all practical purposes, anonymous. For instance, the mail just brought me—along with many thousands of others I am sure—a pamphlet entitled "Free Trade, a Form of Economic Pacifism." It purports to be the work of one O. R. Strackbein, Chairman of something called "The Nation-Wide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy."

I will not speak of the contents of this pamphlet, for the arguments are unspeakably bad and I want to consider only its anonymity. Mr. Strackbein had the courage to disclose his authorship, but the pamphlet tells nothing of his training, occupation, positions held or anything other than his name. Because his subject was an economic one, I reached for the Directory of the American Economic Association (1948). His name was not included. I then went to the municipal library to read of him in *Who's Who?* His name was not there either. No reflection on him, mind you, nor on *Who's Who?* Just my bad luck.

I then called a specialist in foreign trade at the University of California. He too had a copy of the pamphlet on his desk. He had never heard of its author and was sure he was not an economist or at least not one known to scholars in the field of foreign trade. He surmised that some firms in the chemical industry were financing the Committee, its Washington headquarters, the pamphlet in question—and whatever is yet to come. Was it wrong of this distinguished scholar to "surmise"? If you are curious about the identity of someone trying to propagandize you, and no information is given on the propaganda material, what else can you do but surmise?

The pamphlet lists 40 "industries and agricultural groups represented by the Nation-Wide Committee." These are arranged in alphabetical order from "almonds" to "woolens," but again, not a single trade association, trade union or farm organization is named. The curious reader might want to know who purports to speak for "books" or "carpets" or "hot house vegetables," but on these matters the pamphlet tells him nothing. In all but form, the pamphlet is as anonymous as a letter from a poison-pen.

A genuine liberal would hesitate to propose any restriction on printed propaganda, although he might regret that much of it is distributed by the Post Office at rates which do not cover costs. He might even conclude that the postal authorities should be directed to accept propaganda pamphlets for mailing only if brief but substantial information is given concerning author, publisher and the chief contributors to the cost of preparing and distributing the pamphlets.

Such formal restrictions may be avoided if the less responsible propagandists learn what the majority already know, to-wit: to be effective they must practice what the lawyers call "full disclosure." Readers want to know who writes, publishes and finances the pamphlets they receive. If given this information, one can distinguish readily enough between material designed to serve the public interest, and other material which serves only the selfish interests of those who prepare and distribute it.

Oakland, Calif. GLENN E. HOOVER

► Anti-McCarthy Strategy

. . . Perhaps more of us who are frightened by McCarthy's tactics should find out why he is so effective. To blast him, particularly to an audience that already detests his methods, makes less sense in terms of energy put out than to try somehow to *convince* his believers that he isn't doing what he claims to be accomplishing.

New York City CHARLES W. YOUNG

► Political Dismissals

I read in the "Washington Wire" by T.R.B. (*NR*, Feb. 15) referring to the 2,200 government workers loosely said to have been dismissed for cause by the present Administration, that, "Everybody here knows that most of these dismissed workers are drunks or temperamentally unfit; there may be one or two Reds in the lot, but not many."

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Perhaps you can say what grounds, if any, T.R.B. has to support this statement.

What is apparently certain out of the cloudy statements made on behalf of the Administration is that a good many government employees have been driven from their jobs, some on charges whose final determination rests with the head of the employing agency.

The use that is being made of this fact for political purposes suggests very strongly that most of the dismissals were for purely political reasons.

It does not contribute to government morale to suggest that all those dismissed were drunks, incompetents and degenerates.

Santa Monica, Calif. HERBERT E. GASTON

[As of February 18, available official records indicate a probable ratio of 41 cases involving loyalty out of 1,000 separations under the security-risk program. – THE EDITORS.]

► Recommends Price Rise

It would be very difficult to place a money value on intellectual honesty and the truth. After subscribing to the *New Republic* for 20 years, I would be at a loss to find another publication which would give me the feeling of having my feet on solid ground instead of having to plough through publications devoted to distortion and sensationalism.

Raise the subscription price until it meets costs so that you can continue and I, for one, will stay with you. With the price of all other things going up, $10 a year does not seem to me to be too much.

Chicago, Ill. CORNELIUS SHUGARMAN

► "My Crew's Aid"

Not all those who cry "Lord, Lord" shall enter the kingdom of heaven. At the end of the Eisenhower Administration's first year many editors and commentators have summarized it, but few realistically. . . .

I should like to see the *New Republic* print the documented activities of all Ike's appointees to the various bureaus and commissions. What are they doing, behind the *words* spoken by the President? Our people are entitled to know how My Crusade has dissolved into My Crew's Aid.

Valparaiso, Ind. FINNEY BRIGGS

► Left-Wing Blessings

It is in a sense gratifying to note the GOP coming out in the open with the philosophy of "Crumbs from the Table" —a philosophy that kept them in power for many, many years. . . .

Here in Maine the Republican voter votes for any National Platform or any candidate offered by the party regardless. He forgets that he is a beneficiary of Social Security, minimum wage, 40 hour week, bank deposit insurance and the many other left-wing blessings that his party fights.

'Tis well to have the two party system and well to have straight party voting but t'were better did the voters have a better understanding of which philosophy they are supporting.

Boston, Mass. ALPHONSE J. MURPHY

Bandwagon

Those who are "yelling depression," (House Speaker Joseph W. Martin said,) "get up each morning with their mouths tasting like back issues of the *New Republic*." – *Baltimore Sun, January 24, 1954.*

State Department Security Chief Scott McLeod . . . would not comment on whether the Republican Administration had unearthed any Communists in the State Department, but he allowed this much: "My job is not to prove who is a Communist. I am required to show that a man looks like a duck, quacks like a duck and walks like a duck—not whether he actually is a duck." – *The Cleveland Press, February 11, 1954.*

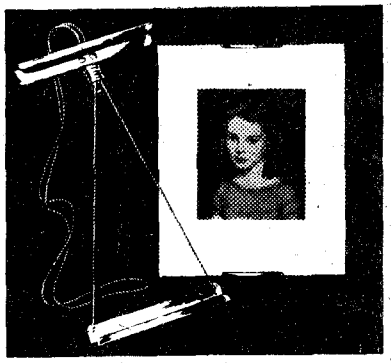
"The question I cherish most" (said Catharine E. Barry, associate curator of the Hayden Planetarium) "came from a woman who called me when I was first here. . . . She had been fascinated by the brightness of a star she had seen the night before and asked me to identify it for her. I asked her for the position in the heavens, and after thinking a moment she answered, 'just over my garage'." – *N. Y. Herald-Tribune, February 17, 1954.*

An increase in the state's take from race-track revenues might kill the goose laying those golden eggs, track spokesmen told a House subcommittee today. An increase in the tax would drive the "smart money" to other tracks.

"Heaven knows, Maryland doesn't need any worse horses than it's got," said Yancey Christmas, owner and trainer. – *The Baltimore Sun, February 17, 1954.*

There still are jobs to be had for those who will take them, despite recent layoffs. One problem is to get workers to lower their sights, to go to work for less money. – *U.S. News and World Report, February 12, 1954.*

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS.



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